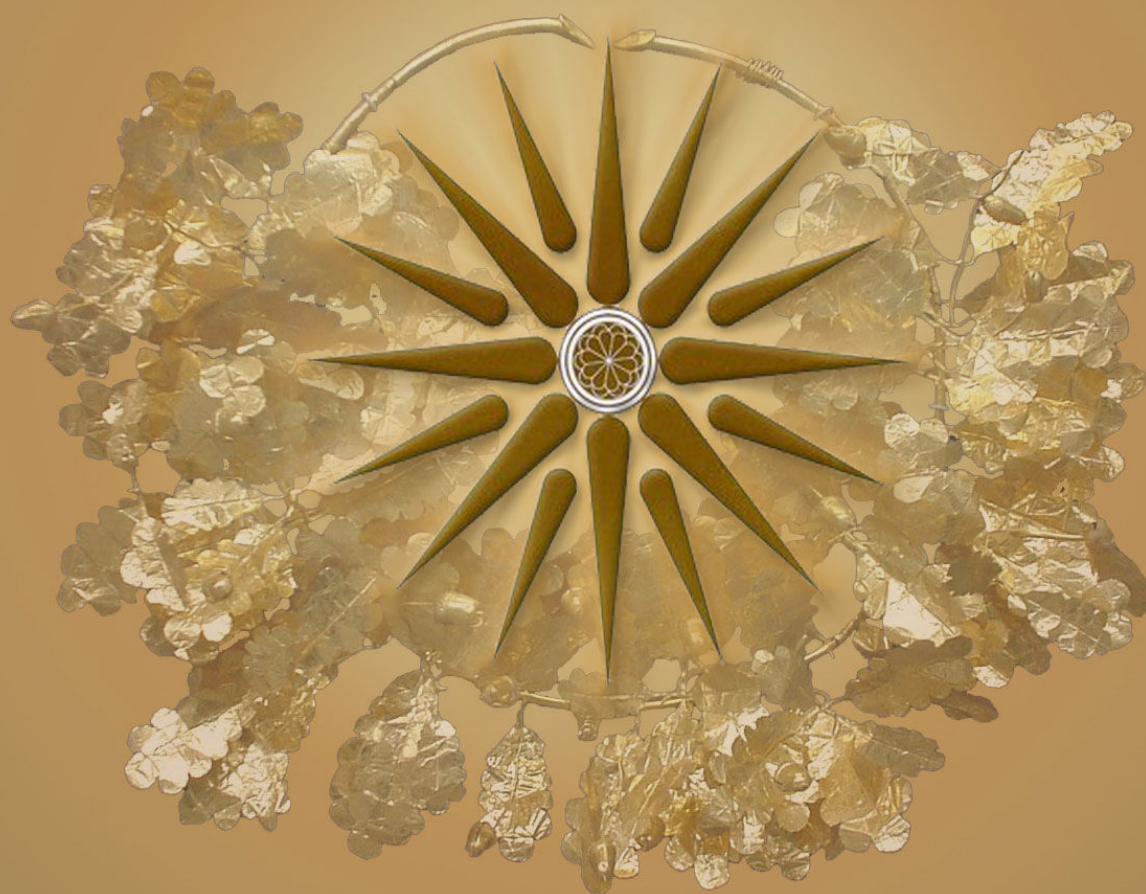


History Of Ancient Macedonia

MAKEDONIKA



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MAKEDONIKA

The Ancient Macedonian Testimonies (Literary Sources)

Firstly we intend to examine the ancient evidence on the way the Ancient Macedonians were defining themselves in reference to their own identity. Concerning their own beliefs about themselves we shall review the available evidence coming from the ancient sources, both Literary and Archaeological.

A. The Literary Evidence

The first available evidence comes from the Macedonian king Alexander I during his speech to Athenians. Essentially we have a clear confession that Alexander considers himself a Greek.

Had I not greatly at heart the Common welfare of Greece I should not have come to tell you; but I am myself Greek by descent, (“te gar Hellên genos eimi tôrchaion”) and I would not willingly see Greece exchange freedom for slavery. ...If you prosper in this war, forget not to do something for my freedom; consider the risk I have run, out of zeal for the Greek Cause,....I am Alexander of Macedon¹

Another cited excerpt makes it even more clear that Alexander I was proud of his Hellenic identity. While speaking to Persians:

Tell your king who sent you how a Greek man, viceroy of the Macedonians (“anêr Hellên – Makedonôn hyparchos”)has received you hospitably... “²

Furthermore Herodotus provides us with a clear-cut testimony about their Hellenic identity from the members of the Macedonian royal house themselves.

¹ Herodotus 9.45

² Herodotus 5.20.4

“Now that these descendants of Perdiccas are Hellenes (“Hellênas de einai“), as they themselves say(“kata per autoi legousi“), I myself chance to know”³

The letter of Alexander the Great to Darius is a mere proof of the Hellenic Identity of Macedonians.

Your ancestors invaded Macedonia and the rest of Greece (“Makedonian kai eis tèn allên Hellada“) and did US great harm though WE had done them no prior injury [...] I have been appointed hegemon of the Greeks [...]”⁴

Followed by an apparent demonstration of their Hellenic identity and Cause during Alexander’s speech to his army. Simultaneously we have a clear distinction between Greeks and the Foreign elements of Alexander’s army.

There are Greek troops, to be sure, in Persian service — but how different is their cause from ours ! They will be fighting for pay — and not much of it at that; WE on the contrary shall fight for Greece (“tous de xyn sfisin yper tis Ellados ekontas amynomenous“), and our hearts will be in it. As for our Foreign (“barbarwn te“) troops — Thracians, Paeonians, Illyrians, Agrianes — they are the best and stoutest soldiers of Europe.⁵

We find Alexander saying in:

*But Alexander replied that **he intended to punish the persians for their invasion of Greece, the destruction of Athens, the burning of the temples, and all manner of terrible things done to the Greeks: because of these things, he was exacting revenge.***⁶

On another occasion while he was speaking to Thessalians and other Greeks:

On this occasion, he [Alexander] made a very long speech to the Thessalians and the other Greeks, and when he saw that they encouraged him with shouts to lead them against the

³ Herodotus 5.22.1

⁴ Arrian Anab. 2.14.4 [Translation by Aubrey De Seliucourt]

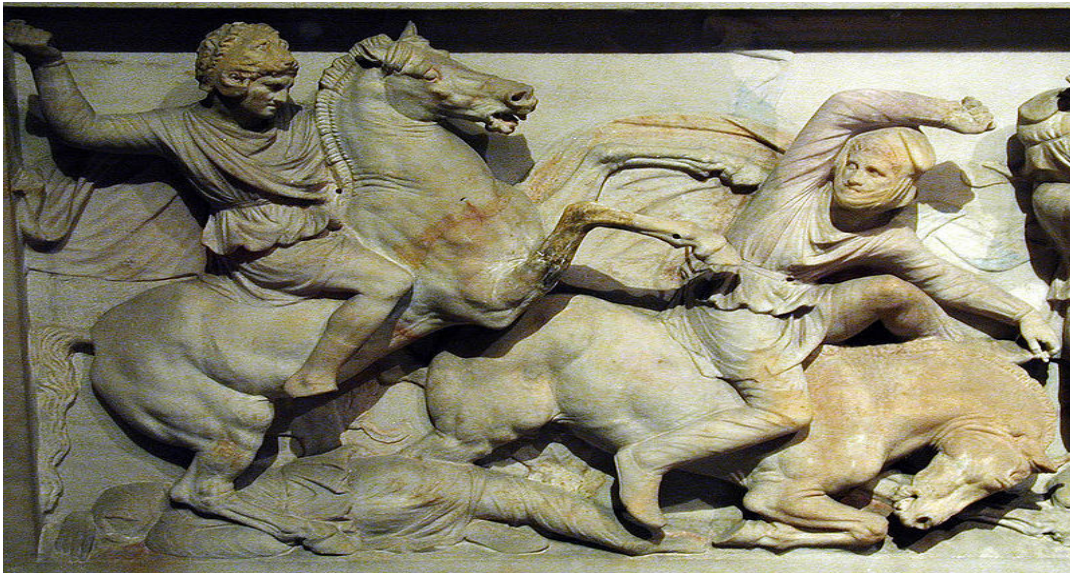
⁵ Arrian Anab 2.7 [Translation by Aubrey De Seliucourt]

⁶ Arrian Anab. 3. 18. 11-12 [Translation by Aubrey De Seliucourt]

Barbarians, he shifted his lance into his left hand, and with his right appealed to the gods, as Callisthenes tells us, praying them, if he was really sprung from Zeus, to defend and strengthen the Greeks⁷

While Speaking to his own Macedonian Commanders:

Alexander called a meeting of his generals the next day. He told them that no city was more hateful to the Greeks than Persepolis, the capital of the old kings of Persia, the city from which troops without number had poured forth, from which first Darius and then Xerxes had waged an unholy war on Europe. To appease the spirits of their forefathers they should wipe it out, he said.⁸



One more testimony from Alexander himself comes in:

As for Alexander, it is generally agreed that, when sleep had brought him back to his senses after his drunken bout, he regretted his actions and said that the Persians would have suffered a more grievous punishment at the hands of the Greeks had they been forced to see HIM on Xerxes' throne and in his palace.⁹

In Plutarch we find:

⁷ Plutarch. Alex (ed. B. Perrin) XXXIII:

⁸ Curtius Rufus 5.6.1

⁹ Curtius Rufus 5.8

But he said, 'If I were not Alexandros, I should be Diogenes'; that is to say: 'If it were not my purpose to combine barbarian things with **things Hellenic**, to traverse and civilize every continent, to search out the uttermost parts of land and sea, to push the bounds of Macedonia to the farthest ocean and **to disseminate and shower the blessings of the Hellenic Justice and peace over every nation**, I should not be content to sit quietly in the luxury of idle power, but I should emulate the frugality of Diogenes. But as things are, forgive me Diogenes, that I imitate Herakles, and emulate Perseus, and follow in the footsteps of Dionysos, **the divine author and progenitor of my family**, and **Desire that Victorious Hellenes should dance again** in India [...]"¹⁰

In the Dedication of Alexander to Athena Polias:

***Alexander, son of Philip, and the Greeks**, except the Lacedaemonians, from the barbarian inhabitants in Asia.*¹¹

Another clear sign of his Hellenic self-identification is shown explicitly in the event with Daniel's Prophecy:

*And when the book of Daniel was showed to him (Alexander) wherein Daniel declared that **one of the Greeks** should destroy the empire of the Persians, **he [Alexander] supposed that himself was the person intended.***¹²

During the Event with Spitamenes' wife:

*The savagery of the deed carried more weight with him than gratitude for the favour, however, and he had her ordered from the camp. He did not want her tainting **the character and civilized temperament of the Greeks** with this example of **Barbarian lawlessness.***¹³

The Macedonian **Philip V** verifies his Greek identity:

¹⁰ Plutarch's Moralia, On the Fortune of Alexander, 332A

¹¹ Arrian, I, 16, 10

¹² Josephus 11.8.5

¹³ Curtius Rufus 8.15

*For on many occasions when **I and the other Greeks** sent embassies to you begging you to remove from your statutes the law empowering you to get booty from booty, you replied that you would rather remove Aetolia from Aetolia than that law.¹⁴*

In the Treaty between Hannibal of Carthage and Philip V of Macedon we find a clear-cut reference to “Macedonia and the rest of Greece”:

*In the presence of Zeus, Hera, and Apollo: in the presence of the Genius of Carthage, of Heracles, and Iolaus: in the presence of Ares, Triton, and Poseidon: in the presence of the gods who battle for us and the Sun, Moon, and Earth; in the presence of Rivers, Lakes, and Waters: 3 **in the presence of all the gods who possess Macedonia and the Rest of Greece**: in the presence of all the gods of the army who preside over this oath. 4 Thus saith Hannibal the general, and all the Carthaginian senators with him, and all Carthaginians serving with him, that as seemeth good to you and to us, so should we bind ourselves by oath to be even as friends, kinsmen, and brothers, on these conditions. 5 (1) **That King Philip and the Macedonians and the Rest of the Greeks** who are their allies shall protect the Carthaginians, the supreme lords, and Hannibal their general, and those with him, and all under the dominion of Carthage who live under the same laws; likewise the people of Utica and all cities and peoples that are subject to Carthage, and our soldiers and allies 6 and cities and peoples in Italy, Gaul, and Liguria, with whom we are in alliance or with whomsoever in this country we may hereafter enter into alliance.¹⁵*

In the speech of the ambassador of Macedonia to the Aitolians:

***The Aitolians, the Akarnanians, the Macedonians, men of the SAME speech**, are united or disunited by trivial causes that arise from time to time; with aliens, with barbarians, all Greeks wage and will wage eternal war; for they are enemies by the will of nature, which is eternal, and not from reasons that change from day to day.¹⁶*

While the Macedonian troops found a Greek man and burst into tears when they heard Greek spoken:

There a man appeared to them, wearing a Greek cloak, and dressed otherwise in the Greek fashion, and speaking Greek also. Those [Macedonians] who first sighted him said that they burst into tears, so strange did it seem after all these miseries to see a Greek, and to hear Greek spoken. They asked whence he came, who he was; and he said that he had become separated from Alexander’s camp, and that the

¹⁴ Polybius, 18.4.8

¹⁵ Polybius, 7. 9. 4

¹⁶ Livius, From the Foundation of the City 31

camp, and Alexander himself, were not very far distant. Shouting aloud and clapping their hands they brought this man to Nearchus.¹⁷

Conclusion:

The evidence cited previously from various ancient literary sources help us to comprehend how the ancient Macedonians identified themselves. The conclusion is inescapable: Even if the amount of ancient Macedonian testimonies is limited, the available evidence points out explicitly that Ancient Macedonians identified themselves more or less as Greek. Macedonians are the same people who had Greek names, spoke Greek, renamed or build Greek cities, having of course Greek names, worshiped the Greek Pantheon, participated in Pan-Hellenic games and waged a Pan-Hellenic war against Persia while they spread everywhere they passed the Greek language and Greek Culture. The message they left is quite clear. They identified themselves as Greeks.

B. The Archaeological Evidence.

[1] Pella Katadesmos



The **Pella curse tablet** is a **curse** or magic spell (**Greek**: κατάδεσμος, *katadesmos*) inscribed on a **lead** scroll, dating to the **4th** or **3rd** century BC. It was found in **Pella** (at the time capital of **Macedon**) in 1986 and published in the *Hellenic Dialectology Journal* in 1993. It is possibly the only attested text in the **ancient Macedonian language** (O. Masson).

It is a magic spell or love charm written by a woman, possibly named *Dagina*, whose lover *Dionysophōn* (i.e. “Voice of **Dionysus**”) is apparently about to marry *Thetima* (i.e. “she who honors the gods”; the standard **Attic** form would be *Theotimē*). She invokes “Makron and the demons” (*parkattithemai makrōni kai [tois] daimosi*, Attic would be *para-*

¹⁷ Arrian, “The Indica” XXXIII

kata-tithemai) to cause Dionysophon to marry her rather than Thetima, and never to marry another woman unless she herself recovers and unrolls the scroll.

Katadesmoi or *defixiones* were spells written on non-perishable material, such as lead, stone or baked clay, and were secretly buried to ensure their physical integrity, which would then guarantee the permanence of their intended effects.

The language is a harsh but distinctly recognizable form of *North-West* or *Doric Greek*, and the low social status of its writer, as evidenced by her vocabulary, strongly hint that a unique form of Doric Greek was spoken by lay people in *Pella* at the time the tab was written (see below, Dating and Significance). Brixhe and Panayotou (1994:209) think a Macedonian origin of the text probable, but they suggest that the population of Pella was not homogeneously autochthonic, and they prefer to wait for a second find before making a definitive statement.

Before the publication of the Pella *katadesmos*' findings in 1993, it was proposed that Doric Greek may have been spoken in pre-Hellenistic Macedon as a second dialect in addition to a Macedonian dialect (Rhomipoulou, 1980).

The Greek version:

1. [Θετί]μας και Διονυσοφώντος το τέλος και τον γάμον καταγράφω και ταν άλλαν πασάν γυναικάν
2. [γυναικ]ών και χηράν και παρθένων, μάλιστα δε Θετίμας, και παρκαττίθεμαι Μάκρωνι και
3. [τοις]δαίμοσι, και οπόκα εγώ ταύτα διελέξαιμι και αναγνοίην πάλλ<L>ιν ανορ<ύ>ξασα
4. [τόκα]γάμαι Διονυσοφώντα, πρότερον δε μη μη γαρ λάβοι άλλαν γυναίκα άλλ' εμέ,
5. [εμέ δ]έ συνκαταγρηράσαι Διονυσοφώντι και μηδεμίαν άλλαν, ικέτις υμώ<v> γίνο-
6. [μαι, Φίλ]αν οικτίρετε δαίμονες φίλ[ο]ι, ΔΑΓΙΝΑΓΑΡΙΜΕ φίλων πάντων και έρημα, αλλά
7. [...]α φυλάσσετε εμίν ό[π]ως μη γίνεται τα[ύ]τα και κακά κακώς Θετίμα απόληται.
8. [...]ΑΛ[-].ΥΝΜ .. ΕΣΠΛΗΝ εμός, εμέ δε [ε]υ[δ]αίμονα και μακαρίαν γενέσται.
9. [-]ΤΟ[.] [-]. [-]. ..Ε.Ε.Ω[?]Α[.]Ε..ΜΕΓΕ [-]

The English Translation:

1. On the formal wedding of [Theti]ma and Dionysophon I write a curse, and of all other

2. wo[men], widows and virgins, but of Thetima in particular, and I entrust upon Makron and
3. [the] demons that only whenever I dig out and unroll and re-read this,
4. [then] may they wed Dionysophon, but not before; and may he never wed any woman but me;
5. and may [I] grow old with Dionysophon, and no one else. I [am] your supplicant:
6. Have mercy on [your dear one], dear demons, Dagina(?), for I am abandoned of all my dear ones.
7. But please keep this for my sake so that these events do not happen and wretched Thetima perishes miserably
8. and to me grant [ha]ppiness and bliss.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pella_katadesmos

[2] Decree from Boule and Demos of Ephesos making month of Artemision holy; AD 162/164

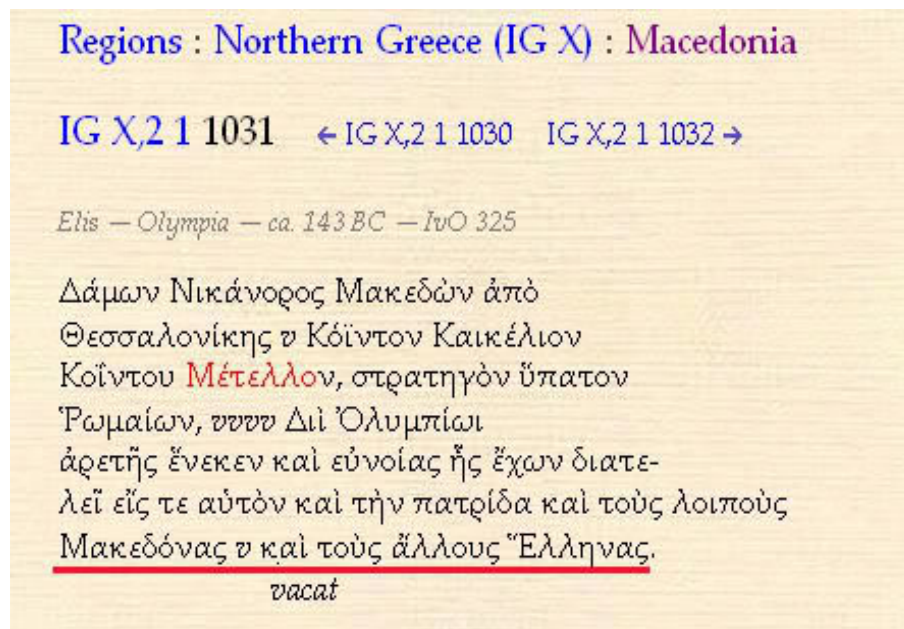
Decree of [bo]ule and demos of Ephesos making month of Artemision holy; AD 162/164; found at Ephesos: CIG 2954 (part); LW 137 and 140; GIBM 482B; Syll³ 867b; Sokolowski, LSAM 31; SEG 15, 696; *IEph 24B (PH).

[ἔδ]οξεν τῆς πρώτης καὶ μεγίστης
 [μητρ]οπόλεως τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ δις νεωκ[όρου τῶν]
 [Σεβα]στῶν καὶ φιλοσεβάστου Ἐφε[σίων πόλεως]
 [τῆ βο]υλιῆ καὶ τῶ δήμῳ περὶ ὧν εἰσηγή[σατο]
 [*** Λ]αβέριος Ἄμοινος φιλοσέβαστος, ὁ γραμμ[ατεὺς]
 [τοῦ δή]μου· ἐπειρήφισαν δὲ οἱ στ[ρ]ατηγοὶ τῆς
 πόλεως φιλοσέβαστοι·
 [ἐπειδὴ ἡ π]ροεστῶσα τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν θεὸς Ἄρτε[μις]
 [οὐ μόνον] ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῆς πατρίδι τειμᾶται, ἦν ἀ[πασῶν]
 [τῶν πόλεων] ἐνδοξοτέραν διὰ τῆς ἰδίας θειότη[τος πεποίη]-
 [κεν, ἀ]λλὰ καὶ παρὰ [Ἑλλησίν τε καὶ [β]αρβάρ[οις, ὥστε παν]-
 ταχοῦ ἀνεῖσθαι αὐτῆς ἱερά τε καὶ [τεμένη, ναοὺς δὲ]
 αὐτῇ τε εἰδρῦσθαι καὶ βωμοὺς αὐτῇ ἀνακεῖσθαι διὰ
 τὰς ὑπ' αὐτῆς γεινομένας ἐναργεῖς ἐπιφανείας,
 καὶ τοῦτο δὲ μέγιστον τοῦ περὶ αὐτὴν σεβασ-
 μοῦ ἐστὶν τεκμήριον, τὸ ἐπώνυμον αὐτῆς
 εἶναι μῆνα καλούμενον παρ' ἡ[μῶν] μὲν Ἄρτεμισ[ι]-
 ὶνα, παρὰ δὲ Μακεδόσιν καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν
 τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐν αὐταῖς πόλεσιν
 Ἄρτεμισιον, ἐν ᾧ μηνὶ πανηγύρεις τε καὶ ἱερο-
 μηνῖαι ἐπιτελοῦνται, διαφερόντως δὲ ἐν [τῇ]
 ἡμετέρᾳ πόλει τῇ τροφῷ τῆς ἰδίας θεοῦ τῆς Ἐφε[σί]-

Transl of the underlined text: “**Macedonians and the REST of Greek ethnē** (“*Makedosin kai tis loipois ethnesin tois Ellinikois*“)

[3] Damon’s Decree

Around 143/142 BC, **Damon the Macedonian, son of Nicanor**, from the city of Thessalonica, paid with his own money and erected a statue of copper in Olympia, honouring **Q.Caecilius Metellus**. In the statue’s inscription it is written as motives of this honouring the virtue of the honoured and the sympathetic actions of Quintus Metellus to “**Macedonians and the rest of Greeks**“. What is more interesting is that the statue was erected from Damon the Macedonian in Olympia, the most important Hellenic centre of that era and it reveals Macedonians saw themselves as Greeks.



[4] Decree about the founding of Ptolemais from Ptolemy I

The original language of the inscription is:

[Resolved by the boule and demos....Theos Soter [founded] **a Greek city** in [the Thebaid]...making its name Ptolemais [from himself, and becoming its patron] To it the king sent [...settlers from...]and **from Argos [and from..and from Lacedaimo]n and from Thes[saly?]** and from..the [council and people] decreed [to...]

Decree about the founding of Ptolemais from Ptolemy I. The inscription itself is a Hadrianic copy of an early Ptolemaic decree.

[5] Dedication by Alexander the Great to Athena Polias

Greek, around 330 BC
From Priene, Asia Minor

In 336 BC Alexander the Great embarked on a programme of territorial expansion, **which would eventually extend the boundaries of the Greek world to Egypt in the south and to India in the East.** In 334 BC Alexander crossed the Hellespont, the narrow strait separating Europe and Asia, and went first to Troy. **There he dedicated his armour to Athena and laid a wreath at the tomb of Achilles, the legendary hero and champion of the Greeks in the Trojan War. This act prefigured Alexander's role as a new Achilles liberating the Greek cities of Asia Minor from Asiatic rule.**

That same summer of 334 BC, a successful engagement with the Persian army at the river Granicus, east of Troy, opened the gates of Asia Minor, and Alexander proceeded to tour the Greek cities of the west coast, expelling their Persian garrisons.

On reaching Priene, he made a further dedication to Athena. There the townspeople were laying out their new city and building a temple to its patron goddess. Alexander offered funds to complete the temple, and the inscription on this wall block, cut into a block of marble, records his gift. The inscription was found in the nineteenth century by the architect-archaeologist Richard Pullan leading an expedition on behalf of the Society of Dilettanti. It reads: **'King Alexander dedicated the Temple to Athena Polias'.**

B.F. Cook, *Greek inscriptions* (London, The British Museum Press, 1987)



Gift of the Society of Dilettanti
GR 1870.3-20.88 (Inscription 399 and 400)
Room 78, Classical inscriptions, north wall

B.F. Cook, *Greek inscriptions* (London, The British Museum Press, 1987), pp. 21-22,
fig. 12

http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/gr/d/dedication_by_alexander.aspx

[6] Ptolemaios, son of Glaukias testimony

In 163 BC the Macedonian Ptolemaios, son of Glaukias living in Memphis of Ptolemaic Egypt, sends a letter to the ruler of his place because he is getting harrassed from the Egyptians of one temple despite the fact that he is...**GREEK**.

*eisebiazonto boulomenoi exspasai me kai agagisai, kathaper kai en tois proteron xronois
epexeirisan ousis apostaseos, para to Ellina me einai*

[7] Alexander's letter to Chians

In 334 BCE, Alexander invaded Asia as leader (hegemon) of the Corinthian league, the alliance of Greek cities and the Macedonian king that was to fight against the Achaemenid Empire.

One of the articles of the Corinthian treaty stated that the Greek towns were to remain autonomous, and that their constitutions were to remain unchanged.

However, the Greek cities in Asia Minor were no members, and Alexander did interfere with their internal affairs, as is shown in the following letter to the people of the island of Chios.

The inscription was translated by J.C. Yardley.

*From **king Alexander** to the people of Chios,
written in the prytany of Deisitheos:[1]*

All those exiled from Chios are to return [2], and the constitution on Chios is to be democratic. Drafters of legislation are to be selected to write and emend the laws so as to ensure that there be no impediment to a democratic constitution and the return of the exiles. Anything already emended or drafted is to be referred to Alexander.

The people of Chios are to supply twenty triremes, with crews, at their own expense, and these are to sail for as long as the rest of the Greek naval force accompanies us at sea.

With respect to those men who betrayed the city to the barbarians, all those who escaped are to be exiled from all the cities that share the peace [of Corinth], and to be liable to seizure under the decree of the Greeks. Those who have been caught are to be brought back and tried in the Council of the Greeks. In the event of disagreement between those who have returned and those in the city, in that matter they are to be judged by us.

Until a reconciliation is reached among the people of Chios, they are to have in their midst a garrison of appropriate strength installed by king Alexander. The people of Chios are to maintain the garrison.

Remark 1:

The prytany of Deisitheos was probably in 334, but the formula “from king Alexander” is not common before the battle of Issus in 333.

Remark 2:

One of the returned exiles was the historian Theopompus.



[8] The Trial of Agonippos

One, not so wide known inscription, stating the same, is the inscription of Mytilene in 332 BC. Its about the imminent conviction of Agonippos, tyrant of Eressos. He was put in that seat from Memnon and afterwards Agonippos fought in the side of Persians. In the following inscription it says clearly Agonnippos went on war against “Alexander and the Greeks”. Of course Macedonians are included as Greeks.

B. Fragment 2 (front face). The trial of Agonippos

[those] who had been besieged [on the] acropolis he [--] and from the ci | tizens he exacted twenty thousand slaters, [and] | he repeatedly plun | dered the Greeks with his raids, and the altars he razed || to the ground, (the altars) of Zeus [Ph | ilippi[os]; and after a war had been instituted by him against **Alexander and the Greeks**, | he stripped the citizens of their weapons, excluded (them) from the city en masse, and, after their wiv | les and their daughters had been seized by him and imprisoned || on the acropolis, three thousand and two hundred | slaters he exacted (from them); the city and the temples | he pillaged with his pirates and burned down, and | (he) burned along with them the

bodies [of the] citizens; and finally he went to Alexander and gave || a false account and slandered the citizens. They shall try | him under oath by secret vote regarding | (whether to put him to) death. And if the death penalty is voted, after a counter-proposal (for punishment) has been put forward by Agonippos, the second vote | shall be made, (to indicate) in what way he ought to di||e. If, after Agonippos has been convicted by the court, [anyone tries to restore any of the family of Agonippos or makes a motion or proposal I about (their) return or about the restoration of their property, ac|ursed shall be that man both himself and his family, and in all other respects let him be liable to the law [that] (is aimed at anyone) by whom the stele || is destroyed, (the stele) that concerns the tyrants and their descend|ants- And a solemn vow shall be made in the assembly imm\ ediately that the man who in making his judgement also brings assistance to (he city | and to justice shall prosper but that to those who contrary to justjice cast their vote the opposite of this (shall happen). [| A decision was reached, (There were) eight hundred and eighty-three (voters). Out of | these, seven acquitted, the rest condem|ned.

[9] The Stele of Xanthos

“The early cemetery of the marketplace of Pella gave us the most important findings. From the **end of 5th c. BC.** originates the tomb stele of Xanthos, a relatively poor child. In order to construct the small stele, a piece of marble was re-used. The inscription of the stele writes:

ΞΑΝΘΟΣ/
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ/
Υ ΚΑΙ ΑΜΑ/
ΔΙΚΑΣ ΥΙΟΣ

“Special interest displays the mitronymic Amadika. The name appears to originate from the root am- where it derives also the homeric verb ‘amao’ αμά-ω (mow) and the macedonian ending -dika. Remember the name Eurydika. Observe the normal formation of the Macedonian ending in -a instead of -i.

So while the examples before a few years were few, today almost daily they are increasing with the discoveries of archaeology”

Translating from John Akamatis.

ΞΑΝΘΟΣ
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ
Υ ΚΑΙ ΑΜΑ
ΔΙΚΑΣ ΥΙΟΣ

A collection of Decrees related to Alexander the Great. All the decrees left behind from ancient Macedonians of course are written in Greek.

1-Letter to chian-king alexander

Regions : Aegean Islands, incl. Crete (IG XI-[XIII]) : Chios

Chios 32 ← Chios 31 Chios 33 →

Athena 1893, 7-33

ἐπὶ Δεισιθέου πρυτάνεος, παρὰ βασιλέως Ἀλε[ξάνδρ]ου Χίω[ν τῶι] δῆμῳ. vacat
τοὺς φυγάδας τοὺς ἐκ Χίου κατιέναι πάντας, πολίτευμα δ' [εἰ]-
ναι ἐν Χίῳ δῆμον. αἰρεθῆναι δὲ νομογράφους οἵτινες γρά-
ψουσι καὶ διορθώσουσι τοὺς νόμους, ὅπως μηδὲν ἐναντί-
ον ἢ τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ μηδὲ τῇ τῶν φυγάδων καθόδῳ. τὰ δὲ δι-
ορθωθέντα ἢ γραφέντα ἐπαναφέρεσθαι πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον.
παρέχειν δὲ Χίους τριήρεις εἴκοσι πεπληρωμένας τοῖς ἀό-
τῶν τέλεσιν, ταότας δὲ πλεῖν μέχρι ἂν καὶ τὸ ἄλλο ναο-
τικὸν τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μεθ' ἡμῶν συμπλή. τῶν δὲ προδόντων
τοῖς βαρβάροις τὴν πόλιν ὅσοι μὲν ἂν προεξέλθωσιν φεόγειν
αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν πόλεων τῶν τῆς εἰρήνης κοινωνου-
σῶν καὶ εἶναι ἀγωγίμους κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι[ι]
δ' ἂν ἐγκαταλειφθῶσιν ἐπανάγεσθαι καὶ κρίνεσθαι ἐν τῶι τῶν Ἑλ-
[λ]ήνων συνεδρίῳ. ἐὰν δὲ τι ἀντιλέγηται τοῖς κατεληλυ-
[θ]όσιν καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει, κρίνεσθαι περὶ τοῦτο αὐτοὺς πα-
[ρ'] ἡμῖν. μέχρι ἂν διαλλαγῶσι Χίοι, φυλακὴν εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς πα<ρ>
Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅση ἂν ἰκανὴ ἦ· τρέφειν δὲ
ταότην Χίους.

2- 2 letter to chians-king alexander

Regions : Aegean Islands, incl. Crete (IG XI-
[XIII]) : Chios

Chios 33 ← Chios 32 Chios 34 →

Heisserer, Alexander, 96-111

[.....22.....]ΜΟΣ[...]
[.....14.....]ΔΕ[...] ἀρεστά π[..
[.....13.....] αὐτοῦ ὅσοι δ' ἂν τῶ[ν]
ζημιῶν ἅς ἂν τά]ξι ὁ δῆμος μὴ κατασ-
[τήσωσι τοὺς ἐγ]γύους, φυλασσέτω ἢ ἀ-
[ρχὴ πέδαις δεδ]εμένους· ἂν δ' ἀποδρά-
[ι τις αὐτῶν, τὰ ἐπ]ίτιμα ἀποτίνειν τ-
[οὺς ἀρχοντας·] τῶν δ' ἄλλων Χίων μηδέ-
[να εἰς δίκην ἀγει]ν ἐπὶ βαρβαρισμῶ-
[ι μηδέ τῶν παροίκ]ων, μηδ' Ἀλκίμαχος
[διωκέτω ..5.. ἐπε]ιδὴ διεμαρτυρή-
[θη ἢ μὴν μὴ αὐτόματ]ος ἐξελθεῖν πρό-
[ς τοὺς βαρβάρους· ὁ]δε ἐμός τε φίλος
[ἐστὶ καὶ πρόθυμος τ]ῶι πλήθει τῶι ὑ-
[μετέρῳι ὕπηρχε· τοῦ]ς μέγ γὰρ φεόγο-
[ντας ἐπειράτο κατά]γειν, τὴν δὲ πόλ-
[ιν ὑμῶν ἀπαλλάξει τ]ῆς ὀλιγαρχίας
[τῆς καταστάσης πρότ]ερον παρ' ὑμ[ῖν]
[ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀξιώ σὺν ὑμᾶς] ἀ[νθ']
[ῶν εὐ ἐπραξεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δή]μου καὶ συ-
[νείργει ἐν τῶι ἀγῶνι τ]ῶι περὶ ὑμᾶς,
[ἀκυροῦντας ἃ ἐψηφίσθη] κατὰ τοῦ πα-
[τρὸς αὐτοῦ, ὅσ' ἀ]φείλεν ἢ πόλις ἀποδ-
οῦναι πρῶτῳ τ[ῶν] <ήκ>όντων καὶ αὐτό-
ν καὶ τοὺς φίλους [τ]<ι>μ[ᾶ]ν καὶ πιστεύ-
ειν ὡς ὄντι φιλοπό[λει·] ταῦτα γὰρ πο-
ιοῦντες χαρ[ιείσθη] ἐ τ' ἐ]μοὶ καὶ εἰ τ[ι]
ἐμοῦ δέοισθ[ε] προ[θυμότερον ἂν ὑμ[ι]-
ν ὕπηρετοίην.
vacat

3- ionia priene-king alexander,334bc

Regions : Asia Minor : Ionia

Priene 132 ← Priene 131 Priene 133 →

Letter of Alexander the Great regulating affairs in Priene and Naulochoi; 334/320 BC; found at Priene: LW 188; Papadopoulos Kerameus, MDAI(A) 5, 1880, 339B (part); GIBM 400; Hicks, Manual 123; OGIS 1; IPriene 1 (PH); Hampl, Staatsverträge 98-9; Tod 185; van Berchem, MH 27, 1970, 198-205; *Heisserer, Alexander 145-168 (PH); **Rosen, Gnomon 54, 1982 (l. 7); SEG 30, 1358; SEG 37, 993.

Ion. — Ephesos(?) — Kat.23 — Heisserer, Alexander 145-68

βασιλέως Αλεξάνδρου.
τῶν ἐν Ναυλόχωι κ[α]τοικούν]-
των ὅσοι μὲν εἰσι [Πριηνεῖ]ς, αὐτο-
[νό]μοις εἶναι κατὰ ἐλευθ[έ]ρου,
ἔχον[τ]ας τὴν τ[ε] γῆν κ[α]ὶ τὰς οἰκί-
ας τὰς ἐν τῆι πόλει πά[σα]ς καὶ τῆν
χώραν ὅ[σ]οι δ' ἐν Πρωσ[τ]ήνῃ —
[...c.8...] αἷς ἀν δέω[ν]ται .4-5.]
τὸ δε[ξ].c.5.] καὶ Μυρσηλείωγ]
[κ]αὶ Π[ε]διέωγ γῆν, τὴν δὲ περὶ χώραν
[γ]ινώσκω ἐμὴν εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ κα-
τοικούντας ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ταύ-
ταις φέρειν τοὺς φόρους. τῆς
δὲ συντάξεως ἀφήμι τῆμ Πρω-
νέωμ πόλιν, καὶ τῆμ φρουρ[ῶ]ν ἐ-
φ[ε]ρ[ε]ν εἰσαγγε[λ]ῶν —
[—] δια...
[—] ΟΜΜΙΑΠΟ τὰς δόξας..
[—] κρίνει ὑμᾶς
[—] δικαστήριον
[—] δ' ἡμᾶ[ς] —
[—] ὑμᾶς ...

4- delphi-king alexander,324 bc-

-----σθ]-----βασ]-
[Λεύς Αλέξ]ανδρος τὸ διαγγ[α]μμα, γραφῆναι κατὰ τὰ ἐ-
[πανω]ρθώσату ἂ πόλις τὰ ἐν τοῖ διαγράμματι αντι-
εγόμενα. τὸς φυγάδας τὸς κατενθόντας τὰ πατρώια
κομίζεσθαι ἐς τοὺς ἐφειγόν, καὶ τὰ ματρώια, ὅσαι ἀ-
νιόδοτοι τὰ πάματα κατήχον καὶ οὐκ ἐτύγχανον ἀδ-
ελεφός πεπαμίνα. εἰ δὲ τινι ἐδοθένεοι συνέπει-
ε τὸν ἀδελφόν καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὰν γενεάν ἀπαλέσθα-
ι, καὶ τὰν ματρώια ἦναι, ἀνώτερον δὲ μηκέτι ἦναι. ἐ-
πὲς δὲ ταῖς οἰκίαις μίαν ἕκαστον ἔχεν κατὰ τὸ διά-
γραμμα. εἰ δὲ τις ἔχει οἰκία κάπον [π]ὸς αὐτά, ἄλλον μ-
η λαμβανέτω. εἰ δὲ πὸς τὰ οἰκία μὴ πόσει κάπος, ἐ-
ξαντία δ' ἐστὶ ἰσθὴ πλέθρα, λαμβανέτω τὸν κάπον
εἰ δὲ πλεόν ἀπέχων ὁ κάπος ἐστὶ πλέθρα, τῶν τὸ ἤμι-
σσον λαμβανέτω, ὡστερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χωρίων γέγρα-
πται. τὰν δὲ οἰκίαν τμᾶν κομίζεσθαι τῷ οἴκῳ ἕκαστ-
ῷ δύο μνᾶς, τὰν δὲ τιμασίαν ἦναι τὰν οἰκίαν κατὰ πε-
ρ ἂ πόλις νομίζει, τῶν δὲ κάπων διπλάσιον τὸ τιμα-
μα κομίζεσθαι ἢ ἐς τοὺ νόμοι, τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἀφώσθα-
ι τὰν πόλιν καὶ μὴ ἀπωλώναι μήτε τοὺς φυγάσι μητ-
ε τοὺς πρότερον οἰκοὶ πολιτεύονσι. ἐπὲς δὲ ταῖς π-
αναγορίαις, ταῖς ἐσπελοῖσσι οἱ φυγάδες, τὰν πόλ-
ιν βωλεύσασθαι ὅτι δ' ἂν βωλεύσῃτο ἂ πόλις, κύριον
ἐστω. τὸ δὲ δικαστήριον τὸ ξενικὸν δικάζεν ἐξηκ-
οντα ἡμέραν. ὅσοι δ' ἂν ἐν ταῖς ἐξηκοντα ἡμέραις μὴ
διαδικάσωνται, μὴ ἦναι αὐτοῖς δικάσασθαι ἐπὲς τ-
οὺς πάματα ἐν τοῖ ξενικοῖ δικαστήριῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖ
πολιτικοῖ ἀπ' εἰ δ' ἂν τι ὕστερον ἐφειχέσκωνσι, ἐν ἡ-
μέραις ἐξηκοντα ἀπὸ τῶν αἰνῶν τὸ δικαστήρι-
ον καθιστά. εἰ δ' ἂν μὴδ' ἐν ταῖνυ διαδικάσῃτο, μηκέ-
τι ἐξέστω αὐτοῖς δικάσασθαι· εἰ δ' ἂν τινες ὕστερον
κατένθωνσι, τὸ δικαστήριῳ τῷ ξενικῷ [μ]ηκέτι ἔοντ-
ος, ἀπυγραφέσθω πὸς τὸς στραταγός τὰ πάματα ἐν ἡμ-
εραῖς ἐξηκοντα, καὶ εἰκ ἂν τι αὐτοῖς [ἡ]πατολογον ἦ-
ι, δικαστήριον ἦναι Μαντινέαν· εἰ δ' [ἂν μὴ] διαδικά-
σῃτο ἐν ταῖν ταῖς ἡμέραις, μηκέτ[ι] ἦναι αὐτοῖ δικ-
άσασθαι. ἐπὲς δὲ τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρήμασιν .ἑ...ν τ-
οὺς ὀφειλήμασι, τὰ μὲν πὸς τὰν θεὸν ἂ πόλις διαρθώ-
σату, ὁ ἔχων τὸ πάμα ἀπυδώτω τῷ κατηνθρότῳ τὸ ἤμι-
σσον κατὰ περ οἱ ἄλλοι· ὅσοι δὲ αὐτοῖ ὀφθῶνται β-
εοὶ συνινγίλας ἢ ἄλλως, εἰ μὲν ἂν φαίνῃτο ὁ ἔχων τὸ
πάμα διαρθωμένος ταῖ θεοῖ τὸ χρέος, ἀπυδώτω τὸ ἤμι-
σσον τῷ κατιόντι, κατὰ περ οἱ ἄλλοι, μὴδὲν παρ[ε]-
[κ]ῆλον· εἰ δ' ἂν μὴ φαίνῃτο ἀπυδεδωκώς ταῖ θεοῖ, ἀπυδώ-
τω τοῖ κατιόντι τὸ ἤμισσον τῷ πάματος. ἐς δὲ τοῖ ἤμι-
ισσοὶ αὐτὸς τὸ χρέος διαλιέτω· εἰ δ' ἂν μὴ βολητοὶ δ-
ικαλοῖαι, ἀπυδώτω τοῖ κατιόντι τὸ πάμα ὅλον, ὁ δὲ κο-

5-maked-kalindria-king alexandros.4cth bc

Regions : Northern Greece (IG X)

Meletemata 11 K31 ← Meletemata 11 K30

Macedonia (Mγγλονία) – Kalindou (area of Kalindoi) – late 4th c. BC – SEG 36.626 – cf. SEG 42.584, 48.802

[Αγαθά]νωρ Αγάθων[ος]
[ιέρατε]ύρατε [ας] Ασκληπιώ,
[Απόλλ]ωνι ἀνέθηκεν.
[οἶδε] ἱερεῖς ἐγένοντο
[ἀφ' οἷ]ο βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξαν-
δρος ἔδωκε Μακεδόσι
Καλίνδουα καὶ τὰ χωρία
τὰ περὶ Καλίνδουα Θαρμισ-
κίαν, Καμακιάαν, Τρεπο-
άττιν □ Σίβραα Ἡροδόρου
Τροῖλος Αντιγόνου,
Καλλίας Απολλωνίου,
Τοκότας Γύστου,
Ἠγήσιππος Νικοῦ, Νικάνορος,
Αυκούργος Νικάνορος,
Αγαθάνωρ Αγάθωνος,
Μενέλαος Μενάνδ[ρου],
Αντίγονος Μενάνδ[ρου],
Αντιμέων Μενάνδ[ρου],
Κράτιππος Εὐρυτίου,
Γύλις Εὐρυτίου,
Κανουν Ασθα[μίου],
Κεφτιμίας Κεφθων[ος],
Φιλώτας Λεων[ίδου],
Πτολέμιας Μ[. 5.],
Μύας Φιλίο[κου] [²²Φιλίο[του]]²²,
Αμερίας Κυδ[ία],
Πάσιων Σκυθ[ου],
Φιλαγρος Μενά[νδρου],
Γυδίας Κεφθων[ος],
Φιλόλενος Ε[— —],
Περδικας Αμμα[— —],
Νικάνωρ Νικάνορος,
Νικάνωρ Κεφθωνος(?),
ραδδύς Ασπιωνος(?),
Αντιφάνης Σώ[— —],
Πατριμενίων Α[— —],
Γλαυκίας Δαβ[ε]ία,
Αρπιαλος Φα[— —],
zacaf

6-letter to chian by king alexander,334 bc

M.N. Tod, GHI, II, 192

Letter of Alexander the Great to the Chians concerning the restoration of exiles
(334/3 or summer 332 B.C.)

Text (based on the revised editions of A.J. Heisserer and M. Janelli)

ἐπὶ Δειοσθένου πρυτάνεος, παρὰ βασιλέως Ἀλε[ξάνδρ]ου Χίω[ν τῶι]
 δήμῳι. *vacat*
 τοὺς φυγάδας τοὺς ἐκ Χίου κατένειναι πάντας, πολέτομα δ' ἐ[λ-]
 ναι ἐν Χίῳι δήμον. αἶρεθῆναι δὲ νομογράφους οἷσινες γρά-
 5 φουσι καὶ διορθώσουσι τοὺς νόμους, ὅσων μὴδὲν ἐναντί-
 ον ἦε τῆι δημοκρατίαι μὴδὲ τῆι τῶν φυγάδων καθόδοι. τὰ δὲ δι-
 ορθωθέντα ἢ γραφέντα ἐπαναφέρεισθαι πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον.
 παρέχεαν δὲ Χίους τρεῖσρες εἰκοσι πληρωμῆνας τοῖς ἀδ-
 10 τῶν τέλεισιν, ταύτας δὲ πλεῖν μέχρι ἂν καὶ τὸ ἄλλο ναο-
 τικόν τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μεθ' ἡμῶν συμπλή. τῶν δὲ προδόντων
 τοῖς βαρβάροις τὴν πόλιν ὅσοι μὲν ἂν προξέλωσιν φεόγην
 αὐτοῦς ἐξ ἀπασιῶν τῶν πόλεων τῶν τῆς εἰρήνης κοινου-
 σῶν καὶ εἶναι ἀγωγίμους κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅσο[ι]
 15 δ' ἂν ἐγκαταλεφθῶσιν ἐπανίχεσθαι καὶ κρῆνεσθαι ἐν τῶι τῶν Ἑλ-
 [λήνων] συνεδρίῳι. εἰάν δέ τι ἀντιλέγηται τοῦ κατελλη-
 [θῆσιν] καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῆι πόλει, κρῆνεσθαι περὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦς πα-
 [ρ'] ἡμῶν. μέχρι ἂν διαλλαγῶσι Χίῳι, φυλακῆν εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῦ πα[ρ']
 Ἀλε[ξάνδρου] τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅση ἂν ἰκανῆ ἦε τρέφεσιν δὲ
 ταύτην Χίους.

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7-delphi-king alexandros,321 bc

Regions : Central Greece (IG VII-IX) : Delphi

BCH 1959:158 ← BCH 1959:152B BCH 1959:170 →

Phokis — Delphi — c.321 bc — SEG 18.222; BE 71.361 — Bousquet

- A.1 [σὸν κατὰ, ἄναξ], ἱερὸν τέμ[εν]ος, κλυτότοξε, συνωρίς
[ἔστεφεν Ἀρχ]ωνος Δελφίδι κράτα δάφναι,
[ὄς Βαβυλῶ]να ἱερὰν κραίνεν χθόνα, πολλὰ δὲ δίωι
5 [σύμ ποτε] Ἀλεξάνδρῳ στᾶσε τρόπαια δορός.
[τοῦνε]κά οἱ μορφᾶς γονέων κτίσεν ἠδὲ συναίμων
[τά]σδε, κλέος δ' ἀρετᾶς Πέλλα σύνοιδε πατρίς.
B.1 [ῶ] μάκαρ εὐκλείας Ἀρχων στέ[φανον δις ἐδέξω(?)]
Ἴσθμια νικήσας Πύθιά τε ἰππ[ισύναι].
ζηλοῦται δὲ πατὴρ Κλεῖνος κ[αί] πότνια μήτηρ(?)
Πέλλα τε αἰμίναστον πατρίς ἔ[χουσα κλέος].
C.1 Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Συνέσει, Ἀρχων[ι καὶ τοῖς τούτου]
ἀδελφοῖς Κλεῖνου Μακεδόσιν ἐ[κ Πέλλης αὐτο]-
5 ἰς καὶ ἐκγόνοις προξενίαν, προμ[αντείαν, προεδρ]-
[ῖαν, ἀτέλειαν, ἀσυλίαν, προδικί[αν, ἐπιτιμάν],
καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προ[ξένοις, ἀρχοντος]
[Δαμο]κράτο[υς], βου[λ]ευ[όν]των Μεγ[ακλέους, — —].
D.1 Ἴσοκράτης Κλεῖ[νου].
E.1 [Σύν]εσις Κλεῖνο[υ γυνή(?)].

8-amorgos-king alexander

-----ος
 [----- Αλέξανδρος -----]
 [----- ίδνευσεν τῆν πόλιν τῆν Ἀρκεσινέων ἀργυρίου [Αττι]-
 [κοῦ ὄραχμας, ... ἰσχυρίας ... σοσίας] τρωάκιστα ἀκόν]-
 [θωνον παντός κινδύνου Αλεξάνδρου ἐπὶ τῆσιν ἔρα[ε]μ[ε] τῆν]
 [μνάν ἐκώστη τοῦ μνηός ἐκώστη δακτυλίων ἀεθρόντων]
 [δημοσίαι ----- ἴκος κατὰ τὸ φρέσθ]
 [μα ὁ εἶπεν ἰδόντων] ἰσώθητο δὲ Αλέξανδρος [εἰς εἰς] τε κώνη]
 [τα τῆς πόλεως ἑσπασα καὶ τὰ ἴδια τὰ Ἀρκεσινέων καὶ τὸν οὐδόν]
 [των ἐν Ἀρκεσίνῃ μετώπων ἀπέναντα καὶ ἔργα καὶ ὑπερῶν[α]
 [ἐπέδωκεσιν τὸν μὲν τόσον κατ' ἐναυτίον ἐκαστον δόδεκα μη-
 [νών οἱ παμίοι τὰς πρῶτους ἐκλέγοντες τὰς Ἀρκεσινέων]
 [εἰάν δὲ τὸν τόσον μὴ] ἀποδοῖεν, πρῶτοι [ἔστην] Αλεξάνδρου]
 [εἰ μὴ ἀποδοῖεν δαλῶσιν τὸ ἀργύριον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων πράξει]
 [πῶστη καθήκοντι δισυ ὀφειλόμενοι ἐκώληξ ἐν τῆ ἐσκήτῃ καὶ]
 [ὄντες ὑπερῶν, καὶ μὴ ὄσω ὑπόλογος τῆ πόλι τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύ-
 [ριον εἰς τὸ δένειον Πυλῶ]
 [----- τὸ δὲ ἀρχαίον]
 [ἀρχόντων ἀποδοῖσθαι] ἐν τῆσιν ἔρα[ε]μ[ε] σὺ αἰ δὲν ἀπαιτήθη Αλεξάν-
 [δρος ὅταν δὲ ἀποδοῖεν τὸν τόσον ἢ τὸ ἀρχαίον, ἀπ[ο]μ[η]σ[ο]σ[ο]ν] Αλεξάν-
 [δρος, ἀλλὰ δὲ σὸθεν] ἕκαστος Αλεξάνδρου, νόμισμα <Α>ρκεσινέων ἢ Αλε-
 [ξάνδρου ἢ ἀμνησίων ὀνομαστέ[ο]ι], δόκιμον, [ἀ]σφάλον, ἀνέπαρον, ἀτι-
 [μῆς πάντων, ὅπου αἰν κελύτρ Αλεξάνδρου ἐν [ἀμ]οργίῳ ἔάν δὲ μὴ ἀποδο-
 [σιν κατὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα], ὁμολόγησαν καὶ δε[ι]θ[ε]ν[το] Ἀρκεσινέας ὀφειλὴν
 [Αλεξάνδρου ἀργυρίου Ἀττικοῦ ὄραχμας μ[ε]τ[ρ]ῶσις [καὶ τόσον τὸν γινώσκ]-
 [ων καθ' ἐκαστον ἐναυτίον] καὶ ἐξίστω πρῶτασθαι Αλεξάνδρου ταῖ[α]
 [τὰ χρήματα πράξει ἡσίοι ἐκ τε τῶν κοινῶν τῶν Ἀρκεσινέων παρ]-
 [την καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τῶν Ἀρκεσινέων καὶ] ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τῶν ἐν] Ἀρκε-
 [σινῇ κληρονομήτων μετῶσιν οἱ δὲν [ὑπερ]κρ κατακείμενοι, καὶ ἐξ ἐ]-
 [νός ἐκαστος ἀφῆκε τὸ ἀργύριον] κατ' ἐξ ἀμνησίων ὀνόμασι ἐκ δὲν ἐπα-
 [στῆται καθήκοντι δισυ ὀφειλόμενοι] ἐξο[μ]ῆξ ἐν τῆ ἐσκήτῃ καὶ ὄν-
 [των ὑπερῶν ἀμνησίων ὄντι πάσης ἑμίας, καὶ ὅτι δὲν ἐνεκράθ]-
 [στην ἢ εἰσπράξῃται Αλεξάνδρος, μὴ εἴηται Ἀρκεσινέων ὑπόλογος]
 [τοῦτον εἰς τῆν ἀποδοῖεν χρημάτων ὄν ὀφειλόμενοι. ἀμνησίων]
 [δὲ ἀφῆκεν καὶ ἀνοποδοῖσθαι Ἀρκεσινέας καὶ ἔάν τις ἀλλοι πρῶτ]-
 [ῶσιν τὰ χρήματα κελύμενος Αλεξάνδρου ἔάν τις ἀρσῆται [ἀρ]-
 [κε]σινέων τὰ ἐνέχοντα ἢ τῶν οὐκόντων ἐν Ἀρκεσινῇ τοῖς πρῶ-
 [τοῦσι ἢ ἐνίστηται τῆ πράξει ἢ ἀρχῶν ἢ ἰδιωτικῆς τῶσιν ἢ παρε-
 [ρῆται ἠτιώσιν, ἀποστῆται Αλεξάνδρου ἀργυρίου ὄραχμας δισυ] ἢ-
 [λιας καὶ πρῶτος, ὅπου τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον ὡς ἀφῆκεν δισυ Ἀ-
 [λεξάνδρου ἐξομῆξ ἐν τῆ ἐσκήτῃ καὶ ὄν ὑπερῶν]-
 [ρος, καὶ τῆ πόλι μὴ ὄσω ὑπόλογος ταῦτα τὰ χρήματα εἰς τῆ
 [ἀποδοῖεν τοῦ δένειου, καὶ ἔάν τι βλάβος ἢ ἀνόμοιμα γέννηται εἰς
 [τῆν εἰσπράξῃ τῶν χρημάτων, εἴηται τῆ πόλι τῆ Ἀρκεσινέων,
 [καὶ ἀποδοῖεν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον μετὰ τοῦ ἄλλου δένειου, τῆς
 [δὲ συγγραφῆς τῆσδε ὁμολόγησαν Ἀρκεσινέας μὴδὲ εἶναι κωλύον-
 [των μὴτε νόμον μὴτε φέρμα μὴτε δόγμα μὴτε στρατηγῶν μὴτε
 [ἀρχῶν ἀλλὰ κρῆνον ἢ τὰ ἐν τῆσιν συγγραφῆσιν γεγραμμένα μὴδὲ ἀλ-
 [λο μὴδὲ μὴτε τιχῆσιν μὴτε παρεκρίσει μὴδὲ μῆσιν, ἀλλ' εἶναι
 [τῆσιν συγγραφῆσιν κωλύον οἱ δὲν ἐπὶ τῆσιν ὁ δένειος ἢ οἱ πρῶτοςτες
 [ὄντι ἀπὸ, τῆσδε συγγραφῆσιν τῆσδε ἀνογραφόμενοι οἱ δένειοιται
 [εἰσπράξῃ Ἀθῆναι καὶ θένειον εἰς τὸ ἰερόν τῆς Ἥρας, μῆτορες
 [Μεταγένης, Σπρωτόνιδ, Μικίων, Ἐσωκράτης, Ἀπαιάρος, Επιγέ-
 [νης, Ξενόμοιος, Νικάνωρ, Ἀκουσπίδης, Ποσειδόνιος, Θεόκρ-
 [τος, Τημοκράτης, Ξενόκλης, Δελφίος, Μνησχυρῶς, Ἀγνώωρ,
 [Αλεξίων, Τηθμῆνης.

9-delphi-alexandros,170 bc

Regions : Central Greece (IG VII-IX)	
SGDI II 1720 + SGDI II 1719 SGDI II 1721 +	
Phokis -- Delphi -- 170-157/6 bc	
1	ἀρχοντος ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ Φοικίδα μνηός Ἐνδουποιτροπίου, ἐν δὲ Θεσσαλίαι στραταγέον- τος Δαμοθοῖνου μνηός Θίου ὡς Θεσσαλοὶ ἀγοντι, ἀπέδοτο Εὐκλείδας Θεοδότου Γυρτῶνιος σῶμα ἀνδρείων ὡς ὄνομα Αλέξανδρος, ὃν εἶχε ἐν ταῖ ὄνάι πάπον, τὸ γένος Μακεδόνα, τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι τῶι Πυθίω, τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου μνάν τεσσά- ρων, καὶ τὰν τιμᾶν ἔχει πάσαν, καθὼς ἐπίστευσε Αλέξανδρος τῶι θεῶι τὰν ὀνᾶν, ἐφ' ὅτῃ ἐλεύθερος ἔσται κατὰ τοῖς νόμοις Ἀλεξὶς Δαμοτέλεος Δελφός, Ἀγέπολις Εὐετήρου Θεσσαλός ἐκ Γυρτῶνιος, εἰ δὲ τις ἐράπτειτο Αλεξάνδρου ἐπὶ καταδουλισμῶ, βέβαιον παρεχόντω τῶι θεῶι τὰν ὀνᾶν ὅ τε ἀποδόμ- ενος Εὐκλείδας καὶ οἱ βεβαιωτῆρες Ἀλεξὶς καὶ Ἀγέπολις· εἰ δὲ μὴ παρέχοιεν, ὑπόδοκι ἔστωσαν κατὰ τοῖς νόμοις, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ παρατυγχάνοντες κύριοι ἐόντω συλέοντες ὡς ἐλεύθερον ὄντα Αλέξαν- δρον ἀδάμοι ὄντες καὶ ἀνυπόδοκι πάσας δίκας καὶ ζαμίας, μάρτυρες· οἱ ἰερεῖς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀμύντας, Ταραντίος καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων Ἀθαμβος Ἀβρομάχου, Ἀρχῶν Καλλία, ἰδιῶται Βούλων, Εὐκλείδας, Πραξίας, Βάχχιος, Ἀρίστων, Καλλίμαχος, Διονύσιος, Τιμόκριτος, Ἀνδρόνικος, Νικέας, Φίλαγρος, Ἀστόξενος, Ἀντι- κράτης Φιλοξένου Λαρισιαῖος.

10. maked-samos-king alexandros

Regions : Aegean Islands, incl. Crete (IG XI-[XIII]) : Samos (IG XII,6 1)

Samos 35 ← Samos 34 Samos 36 →

Inv. — Ephesos(?) — Kat.23 — Curtius, Urkunden 3-12

ἔδοξε[ν τῆ] βουλή] και τῶ] δή-
μω], Ἐπ[ί]κουρος Δράκοντος
εἶπεν. ἐπειδὴ Γόργος και Μ-
ιννέων Θεοδότου Ἰασεῖς κα-
λοὶ και ἀγαθοὶ γεγένηται
περὶ Σαμίου ἐν τῆ] φυγῆ], και
διατρίβων Γόργος παρὰ Ἀλεξάν-
δρῳ] πολλὴν εὐνοίαν και [προ]θυμί-
αν παρείχετο περὶ τὸν δήμω]ν τῶ]ν Σα-
μίων σπουδαίων, ὅπως ὅτ[ι τ]ῆ] ἄρχος
Σάμιοι τῆ] πατρίδα κομίσαιντο, και ἀ-
ναγγείλαντος Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐν τῶ]ι
στρατοπέδω], ὅτι Σάμον ἀποδοῖ
Σαμίοις, και διὰ ταῦτα αὐτὸν τῶ]ν Ἑ-
λλήνων στεφανωσάντων ἐστ-
εφάνωσε και Γόργος και ἐπέστει[ι]-
λε εἰς Ἰασον πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχοντα-
ς, ὅπως οἱ κατοικοῦντες Σαμίο[ν]
ἐν Ἰάσω], ὅταν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα κατι-
ωσιν, ἀτελῆ τὰ ἐαστῶ]ν ἐξάξον-
ται και πορεία αὐτοῖς δοθήσεται, τὸ ἀ-
νάλωμα τῆ] πόλεως τῆ] Ἰασέων
παρεχούσης, και νῦν ἐπαγγέλλον-
ται Γόργος και Μινίων ποιῆσιν ὃ τι
ἀν δύνωνται ἀγαθὸν τὸν δήμον τὸ-
ν Σαμίων, δεδύκεσθαι τῶ]ι δήμω]ι δε-
δύσθαι αὐτοῖς πολιτείαν ἐπ' ἰσῆ]ι
και ὁμοίῃ και αὐτοῖς και ἐγγόνος
και ἐπικληρώσαι αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ φυλὴ]ν και
χιλιαστῶ]ν και ἑκατοστῶ]ν και γέ-
νος και ἀναγράψαι εἰς τὸ γένος, ὃ ἀ-
ν λάχωσιν, καθότι και τοὺς ἄλλου-
ς Σαμίοις, τῆ]ς δὲ ἀναγραφῆ]ς ἐπιμε-
ληθῆναι τοὺς πέντε τοὺς ἡρω]ι-
μένους, τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τὸδε ἀνα-
γράψαι εἰς στήλη]ν λιθίνην και στή-
σαι <ἐ>ν τῶ]ι ἱερῶ]ι τῆ]ς Ἥρας, τὸν δὲ [τα]-
μίαν ὑπερετήσαι.

THESE DECREES WERE KINDLY SENT BY SAMIOS MAKEDONAS

Conclusion:

These are only a few of the numerous inscriptions which Archaeologists brought to light in Macedonia and elsewhere. More than 5,000 inscriptions written in Greek is the best evidence of the Greek ethnicity of ancient Macedonians. Once again the conclusion is inescapable: **Archaeological Evidence in conjunction with linguistic analysis of inscriptions and names proves the diachronic cultural identification of the Macedonians with the rest of the Greeks.**



Alexander's Bust

“Macedonia and the Rest of Greece” in the ancient Literary & Epigraphical sources

- **Arrian II.14.4:** “Macedonia and the rest of Greece” (..Εἰς Μακεδονίαν και εἰς τὴν ἄλλην Ελλάδα)
- **Polybius 7.9.3:** “Macedonia and the rest of Greece” (..Μακεδονίαν και τὴν ἄλλην Ελλάδα)
- **Strabo, 7.9:** “Macedonia, of course, is a part of Greece[.]without taking her [Macedonia] from the rest of Greece” (..ἔστι μεν οὖν Ελλάς και ἡ Μακεδονίαν[...].χωρίς ἐγνωμεν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης Ελλάδος)
- **Polybius 7.9.5:** “Philip and Macedonians and the rest of Greeks“ (..Φιλίππον και Μακεδόνων και ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων)
- **Julius Valerius Alexander Polemius I.18:** omni Macedonia et et reliqua Graecia conspirante
- **Polybius 7.9.7:** “Macedonians and the rest of Greeks” (..και Μακεδόνες και τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων)

- **Plutarch, Alexander's Fortune 99.3.6:** "Macedonians and the rest of Greeks" (...Μακεδόνες και οι άλλοι Έλληνες)
- **Arrian I.16.7:** "Alexander, son of Philip and the Greeks.." (Αλέξανδρος Φιλίππου και οι Έλληνες)
- **Strabo, 10.2.23:** "to the Macedonians and the rest of Greeks" (...πρός τε τους Μακεδόνας και τους άλλους Έλληνας)
- **Dio Chrysostom, Discourse on Kingship no. 4; 9 and 48:**, Macedonians and the rest of Greeks (...Μακεδόνας τε και τους άλλους Έλληνας)

IG XII,2 525: "...Alexander and the Greeks.." (..καὶ πόλεμον ἔξε[νι]- [κ]άμενος πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τοῖς Ἕλληνας τοῖς μὲν πολῖταις παρελόμενος τὰ ὄπλα ἔξε- κλαῖσε) (Eresos 332 BC)

IG X(2.1) no.1031 lines 6-7: "..Macedonians and the rest of Greeks.." (..και τους λοιπούς Μακεδόνας και τους άλλους Έλληνας) (Olympia, Damon the Macedonian, 143 BC)

Syll. ³ nos. 372, lines 6 kai 7: "Kings and the rest of Greeks", (..[v]πό των βασιλέων και /[τ]ών άλλων Ελλήνων) (Samothrace 288-281 BC)

Magnesia 6, 557, lines 30-31: "of the kings and the rest of Greeks" (..των βασιλέων [καί των άλλων] Ελλήνων απάν]τωμ) (Magnesia et Maian.: Artemis Leukofryni, 207/6 BC)

Syll.³ 398 590, line 30, "of the kings and the rest of Greeks" (..τοῖς βασιλεύσι και τοῖς άλλοις Έλλησι) (SbBerlin 24 (1905) 979-993, 196 BC)

Ephesos 163: "..Macedonians and the rest of Greek ethne" (..εἶναι μῆνα καλούμενον παρ' ἡ[μ]ῖν μὲν Ἀρτεμισ[ι]-ῶνα, παρὰ δὲ Μακεδόσιν και τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς) (Ephesos 160 BC)

Makedonika II: The Ancient Macedonian Language (Testimonia)

A. Testimonia

(a) In a scene from the Attic comedy "Macedonians", by the 5th-century writer Strattis, an Athenian asks ἡ σφύραινα δ' ἐστὶ τίς;(sled-fish, what do you mean?), and a Macedonian replies "κέστραν μεν ὄμμες ὠπτικοῖ κικλήσκετε" ('wha ye Attics ca' a hammer-fush, ma freen'). In order to appreciate the value of the Macedonian's reply for the problem under discussion, we must not forget that, as is clear from many passages in Aristophanes, the Attic comedians made their non-Greeks speak broken Greek with an admixture of barbarian words (some of them imaginary), while Lacedaemonians, Megarians, Boiotians and other Greeks spoke in their own dialects (albeit with a number

of inaccuracies). The Macedonian's reply is in good Greek with dialect (ὑμεῖς, σφύραινα) and archaizing (κικλήσκετε) elements.

(b) The ancient Geographer Strabo in his description of Macedonia writes:

*Strabo 7.7.8: "But some go so far as to call the whole of the country Macedonia, as far as Corcyra, at the same time stating as their reason that in tonsure, **language**, short cloak, and other things of the kind, the usages of the inhabitants are similar"*

Interestingly, we learn from the account of Strabo that Macedonians spoke similar language to the people "as far as Corcyra". Today we know Epirotes spoke a North-West Greek so obviously the North-West Greek dialect was also spoken by Macedonians.



(c) Plutarch tells us the story of the infant Pyrrhus when his companions tried to save Pyrrhus from Molossians and while heading to the court Of Glaukias, they came across Megara, a Macedonian village in the other side of where they were standing. Apparently the Macedonian peasants were able to read the message of the Epirotes guards of Pyrrhus since they spoke the same language, thus they helped them.

*Plutarch Pyrrhus II.1: "one recollecting himself, stripped off a piece of bark from an oak, and wrote on it with the tongue of a buckle, stating the necessities and the fortunes of the child, and then rolling it about a stone, which was made use of to give force to the motion, threw it over to the other side, or, as some say, fastened it to the end of a javelin, and darted it over. **When the men on the other shore read what was on the back**, and saw how time pressed, without delay they cut down some trees, and lashing them together, came over to them. And it so fell out, that he who first got ashore, and took*

Pyrrhus in his arms, was named Achilles, the rest being helped over by others as they came to hand."

(d) Another piece of evidence connecting the North-West Greek language of Epirotans with Macedonians comes from Pyrrhus' life. Pyrrhus planted some of his Epirotes into the Macedonian army, pretending to be Macedonians while urging Macedonians to get rid of Demetrius. This could be done only if Epirotes spoke the same Greek dialect as Macedonians.

Plutarch Pyrrhus XI.4: "But while he lay encamped there near him, many who came out of Beroea infinitely praised Pyrrhus as invincible in arms, a glorious warrior, who treated those he had taken kindly and humanely. Several of these Pyrrhus himself sent privately, pretending to be Macedonians, and saying, now was the time to be delivered from the severe government of Demetrius, by coming over to Pyrrhus, a gracious prince, and a lover of soldiers."

(e) In the Philotas affair, it becomes even clearer Macedonian is a Greek dialect, since Philotas explicitly states that using the Koine would make his speech "**easier to understand**", indicating that Macedonian dialect was not incomprehensible to the non-Macedonians, but a bit more difficult to understand. In fact, the whole incident shows the Macedonian dialect was not that different from the Koine and could be understood even though it had some difficulty by other Greeks. This also explains the quick disappearance of the Macedonian dialect and the quick adoption of the Koine from Macedonians.

*Curtius VII 9.25 – 11.7: "Alexander speaks: "The Macedonians are going to judge your case," he said. "Please state whether you will use your native language before them." Philotas: "Besides the Macedonians, there are many present who, I think, will find what I am going to say **easier to understand** if I use the language you yourself have been using, your purpose, I believe, being only to enable more people to understand you."*

(f) Alexander the Great, having selected thirty thousand Persian youths, gave an order that they were '**to learn Greek language and be trained in the use of Macedonian weapons**'. From this it may be deduced that the Macedonian soldiers spoke Greek: it would be pointless to teach the young Persians who were fighting along with Macedonians in a language that the Macedonians did not understand.

Plutarch's Alexander, 47,6: he also ordered that the troop of Persians "should learn the Greek language and be trained to use Macedonian weapons" (εκέλευε γράμματά τε ελληνικά μανθάνειν καὶ μακεδονικοῖς ὅπλοις εντρέφεσθαι)



Coin of Philip II

(g) In fact, Alexander and the Macedonians disseminated the Greek language throughout the world they conquered; Alexander gave an order that the inscriptions which were in a foreign language were to be explained in Greek, so that they would be comprehensible to his troops.

*Plutarch's Alexander, 69,2: After reading the inscription, he ordered it to be repeated below in **Greek language** (τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἀναγνοῦς ἐκέλευσεν ἐλληνικοῖς ὑποχάραξαι γράμμασιν)*

(h) An Ambassador of Macedonia, speaking to the Aitolians in 200 B.C. says the Macedonians, the Aitolians and the Akarnanians that they spoke the same language.

*T. Livius XXXI,29, 15: Aetolians, Acarnanians, Macedonians, **men of the same language.***

(i) In another Instance we learn about the Branchidae, a Greek people, who, on the orders of Xerxes, when he was returning from Greece, had emigrated from Miletus and settled elsewhere. While the culture of their forebears had not yet disappeared though they were now bilingual, the foreign tongue (Persian) had gradually eroded their own. Long afterwards while Alexander came to their place, we find in literary sources that Macedonians spoke the same Greek Language like the Greek-Speaking Branchidae!!

Curtius VII.5.29: "So it was with great joy that they welcomed Alexander, to whom they surrendered themselves and their city. Alexander called a meeting of the Milesians in his force, for the Milesians bore a long-standing grudge against the Branchidae as a clan. Since they were the people betrayed by the Branchidae, Alexander let them decide freely on their case, asking if they preferred to remember their injury or their common origins. But when there was a difference of opinion over this, he declared that he would himself consider

*the best course of action. When the Branchidae met him the next day, he told them to accompany him. On reaching the city, he himself entered through the gate with a unit of light-armed troops. The phalanx had been ordered to surround the city walls and, when the signal was given, to sack this city which provided refuge for traitors, killing the inhabitants to a man. The Branchidae, who were unarmed, were butchered throughout the city, **and neither community of language** nor the olive-branches and entreaties of the suppliants could curb the savagery. Finally the Macedonians dug down to the foundations of the city walls in order to demolish them and leave not a single trace of the city."*

(j) Their Greek speech is indicated further by Pausanias who says that the inhabitants of Messene recognized the intruders as Makedones, from their weapons and **speech**, which at the time suggest that the Macedonian speech was understood by the populace of Messene.

*Pausanias Messeniaka XXIX, 3: "When day dawned and the inhabitants had realized the danger that beset them, they were at first under the impression that the Lacedaemonians had forced an entry into the town, and attacked them more recklessly owing to their ancient hatred. But when **they discovered from their equipment and speech that it was the Macedonians and Demetrius the son of Philip**, they were filled with great fear, when they considered the Macedonian training in warfare and the good fortune which they saw that they enjoyed in all their ventures."*

(k) Laomedon was a bilingual Macedonian and furthermore Arrian informs us that he was speaking Greek and Persian. Therefore we have another indirect evidence of Macedonian being Greek.

Arrian. Anab. 3.6.6: Erigyius the command of the allied cavalry and his brother Laomedon, who happened to be fluent in the Persian language as in Greek, was put in charge of prisoners of war. (Λαομέδοντα δὲ τὸν τούτου ἀδελφόν, ὅτι δίγλωσσος ἦν ἐς τὰ βαρβαρικά γράμματα, ἐπὶ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις βαρβάροις)

(l) Moreover another strengthening evidence comes from the event where Macedonians in a man wearing a Greek chlamys, dressed in Greek and **speaking Greek**. These Macedonians are moved into emotion and jubilation when **they heard Greek being spoken** and learned from him that Alexander's camp was not far away.

Arrian, "The Indica" XXXIII: There a man appeared to them, wearing a Greek cloak, and dressed otherwise in the Greek fashion, and speaking Greek also. Those [Macedonians] who first sighted him said that they burst into tears, so strange did it seem after all these miseries to see a Greek, and to hear Greek spoken. They

asked whence he came, who he was; and he said that he had become separated from Alexander's camp, and that the camp, and Alexander himself, were not very far distant. Shouting aloud and clapping their hands they brought this man to Nearchus.

(m) Last but not least, we find on Livius account a testimony where the Roman General Paulus makes an announcement and Gnaeus Octavius to be translated it in Greek so that the Macedonian population comprehends it.

*T. Livius, XLV: General Paulus of Rome surrounded by the ten Commissioners took his official seat surrounded by the whole crowds of Macedonians...Paulus announced in Latin the decisions of the Senate, as well as his own, made by the advice of his council. **This announcement was translated into Greek** and repeated by Gnaeus Octavius the Praetor-for he too was present.*

Conclusion:

Despite the lack of Macedonian texts written in the local language, the literary sources point out ancient Macedonian to be a Greek dialect and more specifically a North-West Greek dialect akin to the dialect spoken by Epirotes.

Makedonika II: The Ancient Macedonian Words

Today, over a hundred Macedonian words and a few hundred Macedonian names are known from a variety of sources. Although the names presuppose words, they will be examined separately for a number of methodological reasons.

A total of one hundred and twelve words, with ninety-nine different stems, are attested directly. Of these, sixty-five words, or sixty-three stems, have been preserved in lexica, while forty-seven words, with thirty-six stems, survive in various ancient texts, none of which is Macedonian. All the words in the second group are Greek. The opponents of the view that the Macedonians were Greeks refuse to take them into consideration, arguing that they were all words borrowed by the Macedonians from Greek at the time they began to use the Attic dialect as the official language — which they ascribe to the reign of Philip II.



Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Θεσ/κης, PHOTO @ M. BOLARIS

However:

a) the word *σφύραινα* and the form *ἔμμες* are not Attic in origin and are being attributed to the Macedonians half a century before the accession of Philip (see above);

b) the majority of these words are military and, as has already been observed, it would be illogical to suppose that Philip would impose a foreign military terminology on the Macedonians; moreover, twelve of these same words are not attested as common to all dialects and fourteen more, while being common words, have a different meaning in Macedonian.

In dealing with the Macedonian material in the lexica, the opponents of the view that the Macedonians were Greeks have made use to varying extents of the following method: they select from amongst these words the ones that cannot be shown to have a Greek derivation; they do not always inquire whether the form of some of these has changed as a result of copying errors; they suggest derivations for these words from Indo-European roots without always demonstrating adequately that their derivations are well-grounded; using this kind of etymology as their point of departure they draw up rules for the conversion of Indo-European vowels or consonants to 'Macedonian'; finally, since the same rules can be detected in words that are not attested as Macedonian in the sources, they declare that these words, notwithstanding, should be considered Macedonian."

The latest, and most complete, monograph on the nationality of the Macedonians, devotes hundreds of pages to the study of Macedonian words, and contains some perceptive critical observations and original views. **It concludes that fifty-two of the**

sixty-five words in the lexica are Greek, while the remaining thirteen include not only genuinely non-Greek words but also ambiguous forms, copyists' errors and words used by children.

Let us assume, however, that all the Macedonian words handed down by the lexica are demonstrably non-Greek (which is not claimed even by the most extreme opponents of the theory that the Macedonians were Greeks). Even in this eventuality, it would not necessarily follow that the Macedonians did not speak Greek. The reason is that these words are not a representative sample of the Macedonian tongue. This would require that they had been preserved at random and from a variety of sources. **Quite the reverse is true: they have all been catalogued in lexica whose purpose is the interpretation of rare words only.** It follows that the Alexandrian scholars who were the first to compose lexica of this sort (the forerunners of the surviving lexica in which the words in question are preserved) found only a few dozen Macedonian words that required interpretation. However, there is no language or dialect that does not have a number of words of foreign origin.

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Modern Historians write about the Greek Ethnicity of ancient Macedonians



(1) A rare collection of sources verifying the Greekness of Ancient Macedonians

- * **Bury & Meiggs (1985) "A History of Greece"**
page 415

"The Macedonian people and their kings were of Greek stock, as their traditions and the scanty remains of their language combine to testify."

- * **H. Bengston (1988) "A History of Greece: from the beginnings to the Byzantine era"**
page 186.

Bengston makes the following statement pertaining to the origins of the Macedonians:

"They should be included in the group of North-West Greek tribes"

On the same page he also states that :

the majority of modern historians have correctly argued for the Hellenic origin of the Macedonians.

- * **N.G.L Hammond (1986) "A History of Greece to 332 B.C."**
page 651.

"Greece and Macedon were akin in blood and culture."

- * **N.G.L Hammond (1992) "The Miracle that was Macedonia"**
page 206.

Hammond states:

"As members of the Greek race and speakers of the Greek language, the Macedonians shared in the ability to initiate ideas and create political forms."

- * **M. Opperman (1996) "The Oxford Classical Dictionary 3rd ed.- Macedonia, Cults"**
page 905.

In this prestigious source Opperman states:

"Nowadays historians generally agree that the Macedonians ethnos form part of the Greek ethnos; hence they also shared in the common"

*religious
and cultural features of the Hellenic world“*

* **U. Wilcken (1967) “Alexander the Great”**
page 22

Wilcken states:

*“And yet when we take into account the political conditions,
religion and morals of the
Macedonians our conviction is strengthened that
They were a Greek race and akin to the Dorians“*

* **R. Malcolm Errington, (1993) ‘A History of Macedonia’, University of
California Press, February ,**
page 7

Prof. Errington states:

*“Macedonian horsemen together with those of their Thessalian neighbours
were later regarded
as the best in GREECE”*

* **Robin Lane Fox, ‘Alexander the Great’,**
page 104

Robin Lane Fox explains how ancient Macedonians were viewed:

*“To his ancestors (to a Persian’s ancestors) Macedonians were only known
as ‘yona takabara’, the ‘Greeks who wear shields on their heads’, an
allusion to their broad-brimmed hats”*

* **Richard Stoneman, ‘Alexander the Great’,**
page 14

Richard Stoneman writes:

*“In favour of the Greek identity of the Macedonians is what
we know of their language: the place-names,
names of the months and many of the personal names,
especially royal names, which are Greek in roots and form.
, This suggests that they did not merely use Greek as a lingua
franca, but spoke it as natives (though with a local accent
which turned Philip into Bilip, for example).*

* **Eugene.N.Borza (1990) “On the Shadows of Olympus”, Princeton: Princeton
University Press,**
page 84

Eugene Borza states:

*“The macedonians themselves may have originated from the
same population pool that produced other Greek peoples.*

* **Ernst Badian (1982) “Studies in the history of art Vol 10: Macedonia and
Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times”**

*“We have now become accustomed to regarding Macedonians
as northern Greeks’ and, in extreme cases, to hearing
Alexander’s*

conquests described as in essence Greek Conquests. The former CERTAINLY became TRUE, in Greek consciousness in the course of the Hellenistic age.

* **Charles Edson**, ‘**Ancient Macedonian Studies in honor of Charles F. Edson**’

“Important West Greek elements remained in the Pindos. These are those whom Herodotus called ‘Makednon ethnos”

* **Richard Billows** ‘**Antigonus the One-Eyed**’

pages 18-20

“The Macedonians, then, were probably a Greek people (though certainly with an admixture of Illyrians and Thracians) akin in language and culture to their neighbors to the south and west, the Thessalians and Epeiros”

* **Jonathan M. Hall (1998)** “**Ethnic identity in Greek antiquity**” **Cambridge University Press**

That the origin of this new population should be the supposed Dorian of northwest Greece seemed to be confirmed by the early appearance of cist graves at Kalbaki in Epeiros, Kozani, Vergina and Khaukhitsa in Makedonia.“

* **Robin Osborne (2004)** **Greek History Book, Routledge,**

page 127

”Although Macedonians were accepted as Greek, after some discussion, < for the purposes of competing at the Olympic games, and although the language of the Macedonians appears most probably to have been a dialect of Greek related to the dialects of north-west Greek, some Macedonian customs were distinct”

* **M. C. Howatson (1989)** **The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature Book by Oxford University Press,**
page 339

”Thus the kings were of largely Dorian Greek stock, they presumably spoke a form of Dorian Greek and their cultural tradition had Greek features. Whether or not the Macedonian people spoke a Greek dialect or a foreign tongue is still a matter of debate, but such evidence as exists suggests that they spoke a distinctive dialect of Greek, perhaps related to Aeolic”

***Anthony E. David** ‘**A Biographical Dictionary of Ancient Egypt**’

After Alexander the Great conquered Egypt in 332 BC, **the country was ruled by a line of Macedonian Greeks** who descended from *Alexander’s general, Ptolemy

* **George Cawkwell (1978) “Philip of Macedon,” Fellow of the University College, Oxford, pp. 22-3,**

The Macedonians were Greeks. Their language was Greek, to judge by their personal names and by the names of the months of the calendar;

* **David G. Hogarth, “Philip and Alexander of Macedon”**

Page 8

The king [of macedon] was chief in the first instance of a race of plain-dwellers, who held themselves to be, like him, of Hellenic stock

Page 80

It [Macedonia] was inhabited by sturdy gentry and peasantry and by agile highlanders, all composed of the same racial elements as the Greeks

* **Walter M. Ellis (1994) Ptolemy of Egypt**

Page X

I fear that I have not been wholly consistent in my use of the term “Macedonian.” For the record, let me state that I believe Macedonians, ancient and modern, are Greeks

* **Eric Carlton (1992) Occupation: The Policies and Practices of Military Conquerors**

Page 55

Scholars are now more or less agreed that they were one group of many Dorian tribes that had made their way into Greece from the Balkans in successive waves probably from as early as the eleventh century BC

* **Alan Fildes , Alexander the Great, son of the gods,**

page 12

Although the Macedonians spoke a Greek dialect, worshipped Greek gods and traced their nation’s origins from Olympian gods, their customs and northern Doric accent were markedly different from those of the people of the rest of Greece, who saw the Macedonia as a largely insignificant, backward monarchy

* **Theodor Mommsen, (1909) The Provinces of the Roman Empire, vol.1, translated by W. P. Dickson, from the 1909 edition (Chicago, Aris Publishers , 1974),**

pp.299-301

While the Macedonians proper on the lower course of the Haliacmon (Vistritza) and the Axios (Vardar), as far as the Strymon, were an ORIGINALLY Greek stock,

* **David Sacks (1995) “A Dictionary of the Ancient Greek World”, Oxford University Press**

“Historians refer to this enlarged Greek society as the Hellenistic world. At the start of his reign, the 20 year old Alexander was the crowned king only of Macedon- a crude Greek nation northeast of mainland Greece-.... His mother Olympias, came from the ruling clan of the northwestern Greek region called Epirus... “

* **Martin Sicker (2000) ‘The Pre-Islamic Middle East’**

page 102,

Moreover, he was a Macedonian, from the backwater of the Greek world

* **L.S. Stavrianos “The Balkans since 1453”,**

page 19,

Recent philological and archaeological research indicates that the ancient Macedonians were in fact Greeks

* **Peter G Tsouras ,“Alexander: Invincible King of Macedonia” ,**

page 3,

The macedonians were Greek in language and blood

* **Philip Hughes ‘A History of the Church Volume 1’**

page 4

The Macedonians, though the language they spoke was undoubtedly a Greek dialect, and though they were probably Greeks by blood

* **R. M. Cook (1962), “The Greeks until Alexander”,**

page. 23

Macedonia and Epirus were the buffers of Greece in Europe..

* **Hermann Bengtson, ‘History of Greece’University of Ottawa Press, 1988.**

pgs 185-186.

So the majority of modern historians, admittedly with the noteworthy exception of Julius Kaerst , have argued CORRECTLY for the Hellenic origin of the

Macedonians. They should be included in the group of the North-West Greek tribes

* **Mortimer Chambers (1997) “The Western Experience”,**

page 79,

Macedonia (or Macedon) was an ancient, somewhat backward kingdom in northern Greece. Its emergence as a Hellenic (Greek) power was due to a resourceful king, Philip II (359-336)

* **Jacob Abbott , Alexander the Great**

Now Alexander was born the heir to the throne of one of the Grecian kingdoms. He possessed, in a very remarkable degree, the energy, and enterprise, and military skill so characteristic of the Greeks and Romans.

* **John V.A. Fine (1983) ‘The Ancient Greeks: A Critical History’ Harvard University Press,**

pgs 605-608

Modern scholarship, after many generations of argument, now almost unanimously recognises them as Greeks, a branch of the Dorians and ‘North West Greeks’ who, after long residence in the north Pindus region, migrated eastwards

* **Rene Guerdan (1969), French Historian**

The Macedonians are and have always been Greeks, and the creation of a “Socialist Republic of Macedonia” with Skopje as capital is only a sad farce.

* **David H. Levinson, Encyclopaedia of World Cultures**

Page 239

*It should be noted that there is **no connection** between the Macedonians of the time of Alexander the great who were related to other Hellenic tribes and the Macedonians of today, who are of Slavic Origin and related to the Bulgarians.*

* **Bim Sherman (1930) ‘The Century’**

Page 527

“And yet the Hindus of the Punjab were simply old-fashioned Hindus, as the Macedonians were old-fashioned Greeks. ”

* **Ernest Barker “The European Inheritance”**

The Macedonians were backward Greeks, with a good deal of Illyrian and other admixture, a rustic dialect, and a native pantheon

* **Archaeological Institute of America (1948)**

The Macedonians were Greeks in contradistinction to Barbarians, but they lived on the periphery of the Greek world, far removed in space and spirit from the rest of Greeks.

* **Benjamin I. Wheeler, Alexander the Great: The Merging of East and West in Universal History –**

That the Macedonians were Greek by race there can be no longer any doubt. They were the northernmost fragments of the race left stranded behind the barriers..”

* **Norman Karol Gottwald “The Politics of Ancient Israel”**

Although the Macedonians were Greek in language and culture, they were not primary carriers of Greek political democracy.

* **Nigel Guy Wilson (2006) Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece**

“The latest archaeological findings have confirmed that Macedonia took its name from a tribe of tall , Greek-speaking people , the Makednoi ...”

* **Mark Grossman “Biographical Dictionary of World Military Leaders”**

“When Alexander was just a child, his father was making Macedon (Now Macedonia in northern Greece) into one of the Greatest Greek city-states, as well as the dominant power in the Balkans.”

* **Rober Morkot, The Penguin Historical Atlas of ancient Greece.**

Page 70

in the northwest, the peoples of Molossis, Orestis and Lynkestis spoke west Greek and although they absorbed other groups into their territory, they were essentially “Greeks”. The main difference between Macedonia and the city states of the south was that it was ruled by a king and powerful nobility.

* **J.J. Pollitt Art and Experience in Classical Greece**

The Macedonians were ethnically related to the Greeks and spoke a dialect of Greek, but their loose feudal kingdom the northern border of the Greek world had always been regarded as culturally backward.

* **Eric Carlton “Occupation – The policies and practices of Military Conquerors”**

Page 55

Scholars are now more or less agreed that they were one group of many Dorian tribes that had made their way into Greece from the Balkans in successive waves probably from as early as the eleventh century BC.

* **J.R. Hamilton “Alexander the Great”**

That the Macedonians were of Greek stock seems certain.

* **Joseph M. Bryant, Moral codes and social structure in ancient Greece,**

The Macedonians were of Greek stock, though for centuries they had remained outside the mainstream of Hellenic civilization.

* **N. Jayapalan “comprehensive study of Aristotle”,**

This was Macedonia in the strict sense the land where settled those immigrants of Greek stock afterwards called Macedonians.

* **Katheryn A. Bard, Encyclopaedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt,**

Page 460,

“The Macedonians were originally one of several Greek tribes living on the northern frontier of the Hellenic world

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